
THE STUART PERIOD
FROM A MEDICAL STANDPOINT.

BY

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(A Paper read before the Athenæum Club, November 28, 1882.)

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THE STUART PERIOD FROM A MEDICAL STANDPOINT.

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The physicians of the 17th century played an important part in medical history. Anatomy and physiology began with Harvey, rational therapeutics with Sydenham. Astronomy was beginning to be developed from astrology; chemistry from alchemy. It was pre-eminently the age of the anatomists and physiologists. The names of many parts of our bodies bear testimony to the extent to which these studies were carried by the men of that period. Thus, the circle of Willis, the foramen of Vesalius, the tubercle of Lower, the Malpighian tufts, all serve to keep these great names fresh in our memory.

Upon examining the records of the illnesses of the great persons of the past, one finds grand opportunity for the play of the imagination.* What effect would modern scientific treatment have had upon their diseases, and what result would their cure have brought about? How much longer would they have lived, and what effect would the prolongation of their lives have had upon subsequent events. Had Henry VIII. had a 19th century physician, the disease from which he suffered would not have descended to his unborn children. Catherine of Aragon might have been the mother of many Tudors, the Stuarts would never have been heard of, the Reformation postponed, and Henry himself would have been talked of to-day as a model father and husband.

Queen Mary's cruel disposition, if not the actual result, was certainly intensified by the disappointment which followed her

* A writer in the *Athenæum* (Sternberg), in 1856, thus puts it: "History has been done philosophically, statistically, comically, but never physically or psychologically. A medical Niebuhr, with a moderate share of impudence, might resolve every page of record into a simple diagnosis."

fruitless marriage. Sir Henry Halford thinks that a course of aloes and iron might have changed the course of events in England and Europe.*

A few ounces of quinine judiciously administered, and Oliver Cromwell might have lived to three-score and ten.

The principal physicians at the Court of James the First were Sir Simon Baskerville, Sir Theodore de Mayerne, Dr. Craig and Sir William Paddy. The great Harvey was appointed extraordinary physician to the king by reversion, but his services were not required at the court until the accession of Charles I. Of Sir Simon Baskerville little is known, beyond that he was a very fashionable doctor, and in high practice amongst the cavaliers. He was the physician of Archbishop Laud. Dr. Craig was an outspoken Scotchman, and we shall presently see how he got himself into trouble with the meddlesome old ladies who crowded about King James' deathbed. He was the son of a famous Scotch lawyer, was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London in 1604, and in the following year was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Oxford. Dr. Craig was a very learned man. According to Wood (*Athenæ. Oxonienses*, Vol. I., p. 469), he gave to Napier of Murcheston the first hint which led to his great discovery of logarithms. "He told him," says Wood, "among other discourses, of a new invention in Denmark by Logomontanus, as, 'tis said, to save the tedious multiplication and division in astronomical calculations. Napier, being solicitous to know further of him concerning this matter, he could give no other account of it than that it was by proportional numbers, which hint Napier taking, he desired him at his return to call upon him again. Craig, after some weeks had passed, did so, and Napier then showed him a rude draft that he called 'Canon Mirabilis Logarithmorum,' which, with some alterations, was printed in 1614."

* Mary was bled frequently. "It appears, in Sir Frederick Madden's introductory memoir to the privy purse of Queen Mary, that she was bled very frequently, and that fees were paid again and again, and again, to the surgeon who bled her; till at last she grew so pale, as to convey, even to unprofessional eyes, a conviction that she labored under an internal organic disease."

Sir Theodore de Mayerne, who had the honor of being physician to four kings—Henry IV. of France, James I. and the two Charles' of England—played a remarkable part in the medical history of the period. He was born at Geneva in 1573, and was the son of a Swiss Protestant. He was educated at Heidelberg and Montpellier. He soon became a lecturer on anatomy in Paris, and, at the same time, paid some attention to the study of chemistry. Dr. Mayerne was the first to use chemical remedies in his practice, and introduced the use of calomel to the profession. His success was so great that he was appointed physician to Henry IV. of France, and in 1606 was induced by Anne of Denmark to accompany her to London, where his remarkable talents soon gained him his appointment to the post of chief physician in ordinary to His Majesty. Mayerne's success in practice and at court procured him many enemies. His foreign manners and style of speech exposed him to ridicule. Shakspeare, in the character of Dr. Caius in the "Merry Wives of Windsor," is supposed to be making fun of the French doctor. If 1606 be the date of Mayerne's arrival in England, and 1596* the date of the play, then Mayerne can scarcely be the person aimed at; nor do I see any allusion to Mayerne's career in the play. Mayerne's father was a literary man of some note in his day, and wrote a history of Spain. Nevertheless, Sir Theodore's foreign origin gave rise to many absurd reports regarding his career previously to his landing in England. Gideon Harvey, "their Majesties' Physician of the Tower and Fellow of the Colledge of Physicians of the Hague," in 1689, mentions Mayerne in terms the most contemptuous. Gideon relates the case of a patient who goes to consult Sir Theodore Mayerne, who is then living in retirement at Chelsea, a long way out of town in those days. Mayerne, he says, gave advice to this patient "without consulting the will and pleasure of God Almighty, an arrogance unheard of, and savoring more of the atheist (as too many of 'em are) than a pious physician." He accuses him, too, of prescribing a nostrum—"the great empirical medicine, from which his father, Turquetus (usually by the French nicknamed the Turk), had got great reputation by selling it publicly

* Chalmers.

on the stage, whom Sir Theodore, in his younger days, had attended in that employ." In a letter from John Chamberlen to Sir Dudley Carleton, Aug. 11th, 1612, Mayerne's appointment is mentioned as having given dissatisfaction. "Much envy was caused by Turquet's (Mayerne's) preferment, who hath £400 pension of the king, £400 of the queen, with a house provided him, and many other commodities which he reckons at £1400 a year."

Sir Theodore, for the benefit of posterity, left many published volumes on subjects connected with the prevalent dispute about chemical remedies. The most valuable of his legacies consists of records of the cases of the notable people who formed his *clientèle*. These entries in his diary are very interesting, in fact, as one of his biographers observes, might well be entitled, for the period they embrace, "The Medical Annals of the Court of England." There were 19 manuscript volumes, folio and quarto, exclusive of a volume relating entirely to the health and habits of James I. The later volumes, entitled "Ephemerides Anglicæ," relate to the disorders and cures of persons of quality of both sexes. The whole is written in very bad Latin, with a sprinkling of French words. Where the diseases are those of a nature not creditable to the moral antecedents of the sufferer, a *nom de guerre* is used. Thus Buckingham, who was constantly in trouble, is called "Palamedes," and Prince Charles is "Monsieur de la Fleur de Lys." Rochester ("Le Cardinal Joyense") is continually being treated for "debilitas," although he is described as being "admodum salax." Here is a portrait of the Marchioness of Buckingham:—

"Januarii 24, 1622. Madame la Marquise de Buckingham. Annum ætatis agit xix. Habitus gracilis, corpus *μνογραμμον*. Temperamentum ex sanguineo biliosum. Faciei color floridus. Mores compositi. Summa cum gravitate modestia. Vitium conformationis in spina dorsi. Gravida est et credit longissimum partus terminum fore diem Annunciationis B.V.M. 25 Martii."

Then again:

"Preparationes missæ ad Ser Walter Raleigh; parandæ pro Ser Roger Aston."

"My lord Duc de Lenox, Diarrhœa a liberiori victu."

"Madame de Hadingthon, Affectus hystericus et melancholicus."

The manuscripts which are now in the Sloane collection contain the histories of all his other patients, amongst whom were Lord Monteagle, Lord Arundel, Lord Clanricarde, Casaubon, Sir Henry Wotton, Arthur Brett, Oliver Cromwell, and very many others. His case-books show, too, that Mayerne's attentions benefitted alike man and beast. Nor was he above prescribing perfumes and cosmetics. In 1611, for Lord Hay, he compounded "*odoramaenta et quæ ad ornatum*," "*Pasta ad manus dealbandas et emmoliendas*." In 1617 the queen's black horse was seized with convulsions, and in 1636 the king's dogs were indisposed. Sir Theodore takes up his pen and carefully notes the line of treatment he thought fit to adopt: "*Pro equo nigro Reginae epileptico*." The history is complete, beginning with "*equus est novem annorum*," and ending "*curatus fuit*."*

Mayerne was the compiler of the first *Pharmacopœia* which was published by the Royal College of Physicians in 1618.

As a chemist, Mayerne had no equal. The results of his researches in his line were of benefit to art as well as to medicine. To both Van Dyck and Rubens he gave valuable information concerning the composition of paints and the use of the mineral colors. In the last chapter of Eastlake's "*Materials for a History of Oil Painting*" are numerous details as to colors and oils, brought out in a conversation between Van Dyck and Mayerne, and recorded by the latter. He gave valuable assistance to Petitot, his compatriot and fellow exile, who afterwards became the famous enamel painter.†

Mayerne attended Henry, Prince of Wales, in his fatal illness. From Sir Charles Cornwallis'‡ "*Life of the Prince Henry*," the following particulars concerning this remarkable fever are taken. The physician of the present day recognizes at once the now familiar typhoid fever, a disease in those days undescribed. From the very first it was said the Prince was poisoned. Rochester,

* These extracts from the Mayerne manuscripts are taken from Wadd's "*Mems, Maxims and Memoirs*," London, 1828, and from an article by Sternberg in *Athenæum*, 1856.

† M. F. Sweeters "*Life of Van Dyck*," Boston, 1878.

‡ To be found in the Somers Collection of Tracts, Vol. VI, p. 413.

afterwards Earl of Somerset, was at once suspected. People even hinted that the king was privy to the plot. Rochester was under suspicion because it was well known that he and the Prince were rivals for the favors of Lady Essex.* Typhoid fever was then a disease either new or not described. Many other cases of it occurred at about this time. In a newsletter written shortly after the death of the Prince, the fever is spoken of as being either a "bastard tertian or the ordinary disease of the time, wherewith all parts of the country have been much visited." Another writer of the period states that it was new to the physicians, and was thought by them to have been brought from Hungary. A short time afterwards, the Countess of Oxford died of the "new disease."*

The prodromata of the prince's fever made their appearance early in October, 1612. "Continuall headache, lazinesse and indisposition increasing, which, notwithstanding because of the time, he strove mightily to conceal." By the seventh day the disease was fully declared, and by the ninth began to assume a dangerous type. At this period the prince's body physician summoned Mayerne. The great error of bleeding the prince was committed. Mayerne was led to this step by the fact that bleeding of the nose had set in on the 20th day. This is a symptom of typhoid fever which we recognize to-day as an indication of extreme debility. Butler of Cambridge was called in at this stage. This extraordinary individual, of whom many amusing stories are told, acknowledged that the diagnosis puzzled him, and gave little hopes of recovery. Cornwallis speaks of Butler as "the famous physitian of Cambridge, a marvellous great scholler, and of long practise and singular judgment, but withal very humorous." John Chamberlen writes of him "that though he was otherwise but a drunken sot, yet he had a very shrewd judgment"; and in connection with his attendance upon the Marquis of Salisbury, "Butler of Cambridge" he says, "gave hard censure, but, thanks be to God, he proves a false prophet, and what for that and his other rude behavior was quite discarded." On the 22nd day of the fever there was delirium.

* Birch, "The Court and Times of James I."

The head was shaved and cupping glasses were applied to the back of the neck. On the following day, "a cocke was cloven by the back and applied to the soles of his feet, but in vaine." After the 23rd day all hope was abandoned. The king requested Mayerne to assume complete charge, but the responsibility was declined. The prince died on the 28th day.

My reasons for supposing this disease to have been typhoid fever are as follows:—1. The mal-hygiene of the period. 2. The time of year, the autumn. 3. The insidious nature. 4. The duration of the disease. 5. Headache, followed by delirium. 6. Bleeding from the nose. 7. The presence of diarrhœa.

According to the custom of the period, one not altogether extinct in these enlightened days, nostrums were sent to the prince with the compliments and recommendations of many distinguished persons. Sir Walter Raleigh, who lost a good friend in the young prince, sent from the Tower his famous fever cordial. The queen specially recommended it, since she herself had, in a previous illness, derived much benefit from it. No sooner was Prince Henry dead than the usual cry of "poison!" was raised. Strangely enough, it was rendered louder by an indiscreet word or two in the letter which Sir Walter Raleigh sent with his cordial. His words were, "it would certainly cure Henry of a fever, except in case of poison." So great was the public faith in this cordial, that the very fact of the prince's dying at all was looked upon as proof positive that he must have been the victim of a murderous conspiracy.

Sir Walter Raleigh was very fond of amateur therapeutics. In a letter from John Chamberlen to Sir Dudley Carleton in 1612, there occurs this passage: "The widow Countess of Rutland died about ten days since. Sir Walter Raleigh was slandered to have given her certain pills that despatched her."*

Mayerne was generally blamed for maltreatment of the Prince Henry. Butler is reported to have said that the patient should have been blooded earlier and should never have been purged. The French physicians set forth hard censure; "they call him *temulentum, indoctum, temerarium, et indignum*, with whom no

* "Court and Times of James I." Birch. London, 1848.

learned physician should confer or communicate." A history of the case in French and in Latin was written by Mayerne, who procured from the king a certificate expressing the most perfect satisfaction with his conduct, and two others from the lords of the council and the officers and gentlemen of the prince to the same purpose. In Mayerne's case-book, the entries relating to the death of Prince Henry have all been torn out, most probably by Mayerne himself. Curiously enough, in connection with this fever of the Prince of Wales, I find in a recent publication of the St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports an article by Dr. Norman Moore, entitled "An Historical Case of Typhoid Fever." The author considers that to Mayerne is due the credit of having been the exact describer of the earliest case of typhoid fever on record in England. Dr. Moore criticises the history of the case as written by Mayerne, and reduces it to the concise shape of a modern case report. The diagnosis, in the light of subsequent experience, is beyond a doubt. The autopsy is confirmatory of this view. The work from which Dr. Moore's history is taken is entitled "*Theo. Turquet Mayernii Opera Medica.*" Ed. J. Browne, London, 1701. I do not think there is a copy of this book in America.

James I., at the age of 59, after having been subject to attacks of ague and gout at different periods of his life, met his fatal illness on the 12th March, 1625. On that day Mr. Chamberlen, in one of his letters, states that "the king was overtaken on Sunday with a tertian ague," and on the 16th Mr. Secretary Conway, in a letter to the Earl of Carlisle, speaks of "the sharp and smart accesses of his Majesty's fever, though a pure intermitting tertian, whereof this day early he had his seventh fit." Affairs went badly with the king. On the 12th night of the illness, the last sacrament was administered. He appears to have died insensible. There are several records of the examination of the king's body. The most rational one is that found in Nicholl's "*Progresses of James I.*" Death resulted from a form of what is now called Bright's disease. One kidney was found to be much atrophied; two calculi were found in it. The heart was enlarged. Sir Simon D'Ewes records that "the greatness

of the king's heart argued him to be as very considerate, so extraordinary fearfull, which hindered him from attempting any great actions."

According to another account, the head was found so full of brains that they could not keep them from falling out, "a great mark of his infinite judgment," but his blood was "tainted with melancholy, and the corruption thereof the supposed cause of death." On the back of an engraving in the collection of Beckford of Fonthill, there is an account of this autopsy. Here it is stated that the spleen was enlarged. Death was really caused, then, by ague attacking a gouty man with damaged kidneys. A shilling's worth of quinine might have saved life.

Another very curious record of this illness was found written at the end of a Book of Common Prayer, in the library of St. John's College, Oxford. The author of it was Sir William Paddy, a physician of great name, one of the king's attendants. "Being sent for to Thibaulde butt two daies before the death of my soveraigne lord and master King James, I held it my christian dutie to prepare hym, telling hym that there was nothing left for me to doe (in ye afternoon before his death ye next day at noone) but to pray for his soule. Whereupon ye Archbishop and ye Lord Keeper Byshop of Lincolne demanded if his Majestie wold be pleased that they shold praye with hym, whereunto he cheerfullie accorded. And after short praier, these sentences were by ye Byshop of Lincolne distinctly read unto him, who, with eies (the messengers of his hert) lifted up into Heaven, att the end of every sentence, gave to us all thereby a goodlie assurance of those graces and civillie faith wherewith he apprehended the mercy of our Lord and onelie Saviour Christ Jesus, accordinglie as in his goodlie life he had publiquelie professed."

The attendants in this illness were Sir Theodore de Mayerne, Sir William Paddy, and Dr. Craig.

Again there was meddlesome interference with the medical men, which in this case was a cause of great trouble to all concerned. Everybody had an infallible remedy to offer to the king. The Buckingham party, including the duke's mother, anxious to meddle in everything about the court, brought suspicion upon

themselves by secretly applying a plaister to the king's wrists without the consent of the physicians. This was done injudiciously at the wrong time. It was put on before the paroxysm began. It should have been done just as it was declining, and then by the *post hoc* argument they might have claimed the honors. Unfortunately, the king got worse, and just at the time they had made up their minds to remove the noxious thing, the fit began to decline, so that the doctors were quick enough to claim that the improvement was due to its removal. The sons of Æsculapius then refused to continue the treatment. Promises of good conduct having been made, they saw his Majesty through his fifth, sixth and seventh fits. Again dissatisfied with the progress of the case, the Buckinghams applied their plaisters, but the patient grew worse, and it is a matter of history that the Royal Chirurgeon had to get out of his bed to remove it. Dr. Craig was particularly incensed at these proceedings, and, according to Dr. Fuller (Church History), "he uttered some plaine speeches, for which he was commanded out of court." The Duke of Buckingham secretly administered a julep, after which the king was said to have grown rapidly worse. This interference with the medical men cost Buckingham much trouble. Dr. Geo. Eglisbam, one of the King's Scotch physicians, publicly charged him with having poisoned his master. In the impeachment of Buckingham, his accusers did not forget this affair. The 13th count of the impeachment (Howell's State Trials, Vol. II, page 1318) is entitled "His transcendant presumption in giving physic to the king," and it is therein set forth that "he did unduly cause and procure certain plaisters, and a certain drink or potion to be provided for the use of his said Majesty, without the direction or privity of his said Majesty's physicians, not prepared by any of his sworn apothecaries or surgeons . . . did produce such ill effects that some of the sworn physicians did altogether disallow thereof, and utterly refused to meddle with his said Majesty until these plaisters were removed."

Little has been written of the medical history of Charles I. It is probable that he was a man who enjoyed good health all his life. Mayerne was still chief physician, while amongst the

medical advisers of the court were Bates and Harvey. Bates was a medical vicar of Bray; whether Roundhead or Cavalier was in power, he always found himself in favor. The medical attendant of Cromwell himself, at heart he was a Royalist. In his record of his own times, entitled "*Elenchus Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia*," the character of the Protector is thus portrayed: "*Egregius simulandi et dissimulandi artifex, qui sublati in cœlum oculis, dextraque pectori applicata, Dei nomen invocabit, lacrymabitur, precabitur et aget pœnitentiam donec sub quintâ costâ trajecerit alloquentem.*" The malice of the King's enemies, he says, pursued him even after his death. He mentions in the *Elenchus*, with great disgust, one Trapham who embalmed the King's body, and during the operation uttered several coarse jests and unfeeling expressions. This Trapham was surgeon-in-chief to the army of Oliver Cromwell, and though he did say that he was stitching on the head of a goose, yet he did his work well. After 165 years the features of the King were plainly recognizable, bearing a striking resemblance to his portrait in coins, busts and paintings. The fourth cervical vertebra was found smoothly divided transversely.

Successive generations of Harveian orators at the Royal College of Physicians of London, have left little to be said about Harvey. I wish merely to attempt to do away with the prevalent notion that Harvey was a loser by his discovery, contemporary writers, Aubrey for instance, saying that his practice fell off. It must be remembered that the laborious research which led to his glorious discovery left little time for the cultivation of private practice. Still more unjust is it to say that his professional brethren threw obstacles in his way and ridiculed his theories. Nothing beyond healthy criticism was called forth by his lectures on this subject, and the publication of his great treatise, "*de motu sanguinis*."

Harvey's family were distinguished in commerce, his brothers being wealthy merchants in the Eastern trade. At the age of nineteen he took his B.A., in 1597, at Cambridge. After a long course of study abroad he became a Fellow of the College

of Physicians in 1607, and in the following year, by the recommendation of the King, the President of the College of Physicians, and several of its senior fellows, was appointed physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. After nine years spent in study and experiment, the treatise was published. Harvey was always high in favor at court. In 1615 he was physician extraordinary to James I. In 1629 he was appointed by the King travelling physician to Lord Lennox. In the annals of the College of Physicians it is related how when Harvey gave up the Treasurership he called the Fellows together, and "post splendidum convivium" publicly resigned office.

Harvey was in attendance upon Charles I. at the battle of Edgehill in 1642. In 1645 he was by Royal favor made Warden of Merton College, Oxford. He died in affluent circumstances in 1652. The College of Physicians during his lifetime erected a statue of him in their hall.

Aubrey, a contemporary, describes Harvey as being "not tall, but of the lowest stature; round faced, olivaster (like wainscot) complexion, little eye—round, very black, full of spirit—his hair black as a raven, but quite white twenty years before he died."

Charles I., with all his faults, is greatly to be commended for the encouragement he gave to all arts and sciences, and for the personal interest he took in them. Harvey's experiments interested him greatly, and the fashionables of 1642, instead of, as in 1882, throwing obstacles in the way of advancing science, not only witnessed dissections of living animals, but actually furnished the subjects for them. Aiken tells us that the interest his Majesty took in Harvey's researches were of singular service to him in his investigations concerning the nature of generation, as the King's favorite diversion of stag hunting furnished him with an opportunity of dissecting a vast number of animals of that species in a pregnant state.

Oliver Cromwell, in his younger days, when he lived in Huntingdonshire, was a hypochondriac. His physical sufferings had much to do with his gloomy ideas of religion. At his country seat he frequently fancied that his death was at hand.

It is on record that Dr. Simcott, of Huntingdonshire, was constantly being sent for, and no doubt that worthy practitioner went with a grumble to minister to the woes of the *malade imaginaire*.

At this time Oliver was constantly consulting Dr. Mayerne in London. The court physician undoubtedly must have given him twenty grains of calomel, his favorite dose, although no mention is made of treatment in the Ephemerides. "Monsieur Cromwell valde melancholicus." The records go on to state that the Great Oliver was the victim of a periodic pain in his stomach, whose time of attack was exactly three hours after the future Protector had eaten his dinner. Its favorite site was in his left side. Probably it was an enlarged spleen, the result of malaria. Cromwell had just returned from drinking the waters at Wellingborough, in the county of Northampton. The consultation took place on the 29th September, 1628. This long residence in Huntingdonshire, a tract of country notoriously ill-drained, was probably the origin of the ague from which he suffered during the rest of his life.

During the Scotch campaign he was constantly upon the sick list; and the Parliament were so concerned that they sent Dr. Bates and Dr. Wright to Scotland to advise him, as well as to report to Parliament his condition of health. He refused to follow the advice offered him—that he should retire from active life.

For the next seven years after this, Oliver Cromwell enjoyed good health. He was made Lord Protector in 1653. The year 1658 was one of trouble and anxiety. He lost by death his friend, the Earl of Warwick, his son-in-law, Mr. Rich, and, worst of all, his favorite daughter, Mrs. Claypole. Her last illness was prolonged and painful. She died, it was thought, of cancer. For fourteen days and nights Cromwell was a constant attendant at her bedside.* It was said that his refusal of the request that the life of Dr. Hewett should be spared, weighed so heavily on the mind of the dying woman that her last words

* An account of the last hours of the late renowned Oliver Cromwell. London, 1659.

were those of bitter reproach. This Dr. Hewett, who was executed for high treason, was the divine who had officiated at the marriage of Mary, his third daughter, to Lord Fauconberg. All these melancholy causes are said to have so affected him in body as well as in mind as to be considered at the time sufficient cause for the return of his ague. An attack of gout still further reduced him, and his haggard appearance became an occasion of alarm to those who knew him well. Fox,* the Quaker, met him riding in Hampton Court Park, and says: "I saw and felt a waft of death go forth against him; and when I came to him he looked like a dead man."

The physicians of Cromwell were Harvey, Bates, Maidstone and Worth. At this time intermittent fever set in, and the heart, perhaps fattily degenerated, showed early signs of giving out. Dr. Bates tells us that although all were anxious about him, he had sufficient strength to walk about and attend his duties. "But one day," says Bates, "after dinner, his five (I know of but four) physicians coming to wait upon him and having felt his pulse, said it intermitted; at which, being suddenly startled, he looked pale, fell into a cold sweat, almost fainted away, and ordered himself to be carried to bed, where, being refreshed with cordials, he made his will." Strangely enough, in his last illness he was possessed with a firm belief in his recovery. Observing the anxious countenances of the physicians, he is reported to have said: "Ye physicians think I shall die. Don't think I am mad; I speak the word of truth upon surer grounds than Galen or your Hippocrates furnish you with; God Almighty himself hath given that answer, not to my prayers alone, but also to the prayers of those who entertain a stricter commerce and greater intimacy with him. * * * Ye may have skill in the nature of things, yet Nature can do more than all physicians put together, and God is far above Nature." This account is taken from the "Elenchus" of Dr. Bates, which is scarcely a reliable authority. Death-bed speeches are in the majority of cases imaginary. That night "the chaplains and all who were dear to God," Dr. Bates goes

* *Fox Journal*, Vol. I, p. 485-6. Quoted by Mr. Cooper.

on to say, "being dispersed into several parts of the palace, have prayed to God for his health, and have all brought this answer, 'he shall recover.'" Clarendon tells the same story. "But the fits grew stronger and his spirits much abated; so that he returned again to Whitehall when his physicians began to think him in danger, though the preachers, who prayed always about him and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his service, declared as from God, that he should recover."

Cromwell died at Whitehall on the afternoon of Tuesday, September 3rd, 1658, that day being the anniversary both of Dunbar and Worcester. He was the last Englishman of note to die in England of ague. Cinchona bark came into use in England about 1655. Had it been administered judiciously, Cromwell's life would have been saved. Unfortunately, a wretched City Alderman, one Underwood, died whilst taking the bark, which gave rise to so much idle talk about the dangers of the new remedy that the physicians feared to employ it.

Abundant contemporary evidence exists as to the prevalence of ague in England to account for the deaths of two men of note such as James I. and Cromwell. At that time the soil about London was neither drained nor cultivated during some months of the year. The marshes of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire were covered with clouds of cranes.* Southwark was a swamp, and at Westminster there is a gate called the Marshgate,† from being situated in a place where there was once a marsh. Ague was less prevalent after the Great Fire. The number of deaths decreased per annum rapidly. In 1728 there were 44; and in 1730 only 16. In the ten years from 1800 to 1810 four deaths were registered. Dr. Caius says that ague was so fatal in London in 1558 that the living could hardly bury the dead. Burnet says it raged like a plague. According to Sydenham, from 1661 to 1665 it was the most fatal disease in England. In the Walcheren expedition, 10,000 men, two-thirds of our force died of marsh fever.

The body of Cromwell was got rid of in some mysterious man-

* Macauley.

† Ellotson.

ner immediately after the autopsy was over. A wax figure in a suit of velvet, richly laced with gold and trimmed in ermine, lay in state in Somerset House in a room hung with black velvet, until 23rd November, when it was buried in the Abbey. The ceremony cost £6,000. In 1660 the Lords and Commons thought that they might then with safety kick the dead lion. An order was passed "that the carcasses of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Bradshaw and Thomas Pride, whether buried in Westminster Abbey or elsewhere, be with all expedition taken up and drawn upon a hurdle to Tyburne and there hanged up in their coffins for some time ; and after that buried under the said gallows." In a pamphlet in the Harleian Miscellany it is recorded that a certain clergyman whose name is not given, made a sworn statement shortly after this desecration of Cromwell's remains that Roundheads in disguise had taken that of Charles I. from its resting place, and substituted it for that of Cromwell. Although a dead body of an unknown person took the place, yet it was highly improbable that it was that of the King, for, as has been mentioned, the royal corpse was found intact in the beginning of this century in its coffin.

The last resting place of the Protector is still undiscovered. According to contemporary report it was wrapped in lead and dropped into the Thames. A more circumstantial account is to the effect that in compliance with his dying request, the body was buried in the battlefield at Naseby. Cromwell's family foresaw that his power would die with him, and rightly judging that the return to power of the Royalists would be certain to be followed by the desecration of the remains, took measures to hide the corpse. Early decomposition was very improbable, but it is likely that this statement was made by the physicians in order that his friends might have an opportunity of getting the body out of sight. Recently a writer in the *London World* stated that the body of Cromwell rests in Newburgh, in Yorkshire, on the estate of Sir George Wombwell. It was said to have been taken there by Cromwell's daughter, Lady Fauconberg, whose grand-daughter married an ancestor of Sir George. This tomb has never been opened.

When the second Charles became King, the court physicians all retained their places, Harvey, Mayerne, Bates and Sir Charles Scarborough; Prijean and Hamey were amongst them. The new additions to the list made by the King were of a sort such as one would suppose the dissolute monarch would have about him, viz.: Archer, Whistler, and the notorious Toby Whittaker and Fraizer. Charles Scarborough, a man of great repute as an anatomist, was the friend and associate of Harvey in his investigations. He was physician to Charles II., James II. and William III., and had the honor of being the adviser of the Duchess of Portsmouth. It seems from his writings that most of the illness of that illustrious beauty were caused by her gluttony. "Madam," Sir Charles Scarborough is reported to have said, "I will deal with you as a physician should do; you must eat less, use more exercise, take physic, or be sick."

In addition to his anatomical lectures in London, he taught mathematics at Cambridge. His epitaph records that he was

*Inter Medicos Hippocrates,
Inter Mathematicos Euclides.*

Scarborough was a staunch Royalist, and suffered for it. His library was destroyed in the early part of the war, and at a later date he lost his fellowship at Cambridge. He was in exile with Charles II., and returned with him on board the "Naseby." On the 24th May Mr. Pepys, who had been obliged to give up his cabin to make way for the illustrious company on board, entertained in his new quarters, the carpenter's cabin, a party of persons of lesser importance in the royal suite—the two chaplains and the three doctors (Scarborough, Quartermaine and Clerk). "At supper the three doctors of physique again at my cabin; where I put Dr. Scarborough in mind of what I had heard him say that children, in every day's experience, look several ways with both their eyes till custom teaches them otherwise." Evelyn was greatly impressed with Scarborough's library, and thought it contained the best collection of mathematical works in Europe. Dr. Clerk was also an anatomist. As it became the fashion

in the early days of the Royal Society to take interest in scientific matter, the King devoting his leisure to chemical experiments, so the anatomists came into favor for a time. Pepys tells us that the King witnessed (14th May, 1663) the dissection of three human bodies by Dr. Clarke and Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, with which he was highly pleased.

Of the medical friends of Charles II., Hamey was certainly the most respectable. A fellow of the R.C.P. in 1634, he commenced the uphill drudgery of practice with the mill stone of poverty about his neck. He was a faithful churchman, and a devoted Royalist. The downfall of Charles I caused a great falling off in his practice, indeed to such want was he reduced that he was on the point of quitting London, when a fortunate event occurred which not only relieved present necessities, but which put him at once into affluent circumstances, enabling him to send Charles II sums of money he had obtained by the spoiling of the Egyptians. Mr. Palmer, a kinsman, in his biography of Dr. Hamey, tells the story:

Things had been going the wrong way with Hamey for some time. Most of his cavalier patients were in exile, and those at home had no fees to give him. Anxiety had brought on illness which prevented him entirely from earning his daily bread. There was not a penny in the house. The very first time he dined in his parlor afterwards, a certain great man in high station came to consult him "*ratione vagi sui amoris*," says Dr. Hamey, and "he was one of the godly ones, too, of those times." In fact it was no other than the pious Ireton.

"After the doctor had received him in his study, and modestly attended to his long religious preface, with which he introduced his ignominious circumstances, and Dr. Hamey had assured him of his fidelity, and given him hopes of success in his affair, the generous soldier drew out of his pocket a bag of gold, and offered it all in a lump to his physician. Dr. Hamey, surprised at so extraordinary a fee, modestly declined the acceptance of it, upon which the great man dipping his hand into the bag, grasped up as much of his coin as his fist could

hold and generously put it into the doctor's pocket, and so took his leave."*

"The recovery of this patient brought many more of the same cast, so that the committees for public levies were seldom without one or other of them, who always, when Dr. Hamey appeared upon their summons thither, feigned some near relative or friend's extreme illness, for which he was immediately dismissed with contentment, as the lawyers say."

Hamey, though, became sly as the Commonwealth grew stronger, "he thought it sometimes necessary to move with the stream and went to hear what he hated—a barber perhaps or a cobbler hold forth; but always took care that his servant should carry for him an Aldus edition of Virgil upon vellum, in binding and bulk resembling an octavo Bible, to entertain himself with; or a duodecimo edition of Aristophanes canonically bound in red turkey leather, with clasps, resembling a Greek testament." Hamey remitted to Charles II. several sums of money, of which the receipts signed by the royal hand are in existence. On the Restoration he returned to the King a valuable relic of Charles I., a diamond ring, which had been plundered from the royal martyr, and for which the giver had to pay £500.

Drs. Archer, Whittaker, Whistler and Fraizer were a bad lot, and well suited to the court they served. Archer encouraged the King in the pursuit of his sensual pleasures. His essay upon the advantages to be derived from intemperate drinking was entitled "The possibility of maintaining life from infancy to old age without sickness by the use of wine." Whistler was a chatty fellow and told a story well. Pepys describes the conversation at a quiet little dinner on 21st November, 1667.

"With Creed to a tavern where Dean Wilkins and others, and good discourse; among the rest, of a man that is a little frantic, that hath been a kind of minister, Dr. Wilkins saying that he hath read for him in his church, that is poor and debauched man, that the College have hired for 20s to have some

* The Gold-Headed Cane.

of the blood of a sheep let into his body; and it is to be done on Saturday next. They propose to let in about 12 ounces; which they compete is what will be let in in a minute's time by a watch. On this occasion Dr. Whistler told a pretty story related by Muffett, a good author, of Dr. Caius, that built Caius College; that being very old, and living only at that time upon woman's milk, he while he fed upon the milk of an angry, fretful woman, became so himself; and then being advised to take it of a good-natured, patient woman, he did become so beyond the common temper of his age. Their discourse was very fine; and if I should be put out of my office, I do take great content in the liberty I shall be at of frequenting these gentlemen's company."

John Evelyn was constantly meeting Whistler at little dinners and cosy little suppers. In February, 1676, he supped with Sir John Williamson, "where were our (the Royal) Society—Mr. Robert Boyle, Sir Christopher Wren, Sir William Petty, Dr. Holden, sub-Dean of His Majesty's chapel, Sir James Shaen, Dr. Whistler (then President of the College of Physicians), and our Secretary, Mr. Oldenburg. The same people met at Sir Joseph Williamson's in 1683. We are told what they talked about. "The conversation was philosophical and cheerful on divers considerable questions proposed; as of the hereditary succession of the Roman Emperors; the Pica mentioned in the preface of our Common Prayer, which signifies only the Greek Kalendarium. These were mixed with lighter subjects." After a dinner at the College of Physicians Evelyn speaks of Whistler as being the "most facetious man in nature."

Charles II. died of apoplexy after an illness of but four days. The history of his case written by Sir Charles Scarborough is deposited in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. I obtain my information from the essays of Sir Henry Hallford.* At 8 A.M. the King lost speech and motion. He was engaged at the time in making chemical experiments. Sir Edmund King, surgeon employed in the army, who was giving the King

* *Essays and Orations*, read and delivered by Sir Henry Hallford. London, 1842.

instructions in the laboratory, ran to his assistance and promptly bled him to the extent of sixteen ounces. King, for his presence of mind, was awarded a vote of thanks from Parliament, and a gift of £1,000. He got the thanks, but never the money. The court physicians to the number of fourteen then arrived. They approved of what had been done, and ordered further venesection to the extent of eight additional ounces. An antimonial emetic, a powerful purgative, and several clysters were administered. A blister to the head was applied. The King did not rally, but remained until death in a lethargic dreamy condition. The loss of the power of co-ordinating words added to the misery of his condition. Conflicting ecclesiastics struggled for an audience at each glimmer of consciousness. He probably said "yes, yes," or "no, no," to all interrogations indifferently, agreeing with the last speaker, not knowing the meaning of the words he uttered.

Macaulay's version of the story of the King's death can scarcely be correct. It is unlikely that a person in the King's state, with the brain compressed as it was found to be, would be sitting up in bed exchanging polite speeches with the courtiers, and apologizing for the unconscionable time he took in dying.

Sir Henry Hallford, writing in 1833, thought the treatment did not differ from that of his day, save that for the *spiritus cranii humani*, twenty-five drops of which were ordered in a cordial julep when His Majesty was sinking, might have been substituted a less disgusting and more effectual preparation of ammonia. Sir Henry Hallford thought that the King was not sufficiently bled.

Many of the more prominent physicians of the 17th century I have avoided mentioning. Of Harvey little is said. His life and works would afford material for a very lengthy paper. Sydenham's name is but once mentioned. An account of the times of the court physicians of William and Mary, the famous Mead, the eccentric Ratcliffe, and others, might form a pleasing subject of another paper; but already ~~has this~~ essay exceeded the customary limits, and so I must abruptly bring it to a close.